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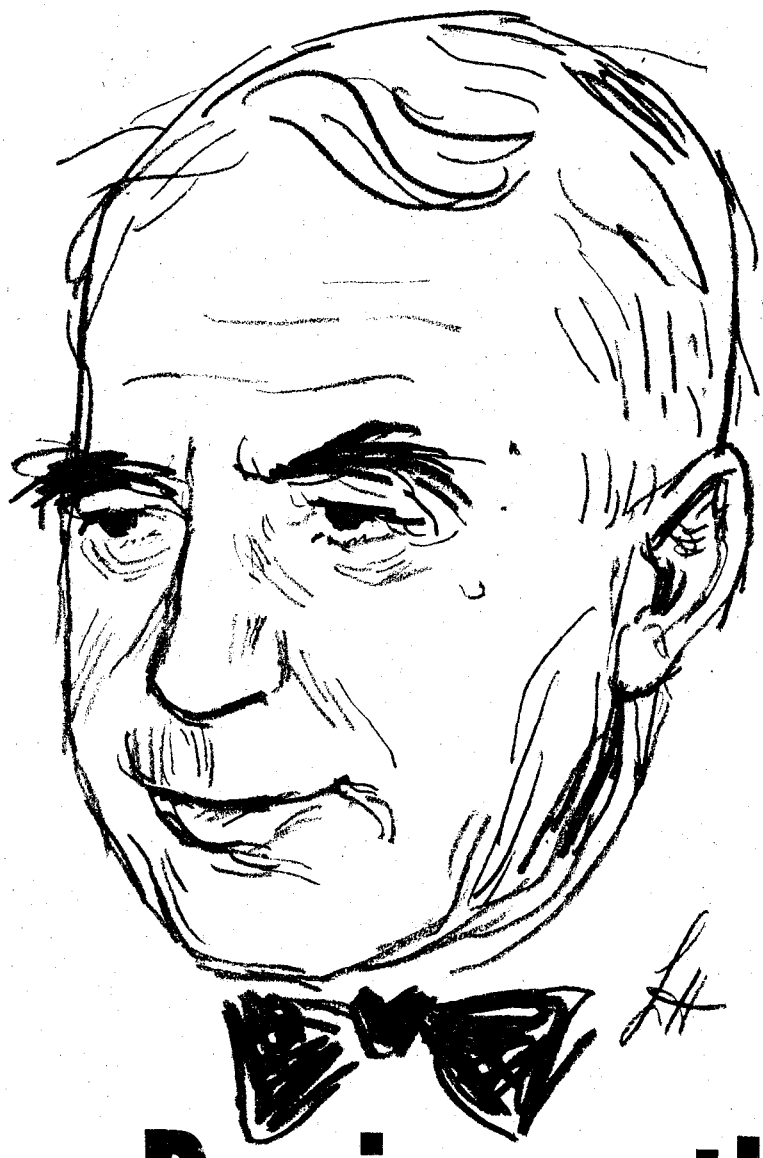
Chester Bowles' *Ambassador's Report:* A Review

New Republic



Elmer Davis on the Air

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Six views by Robert Sherwood, John Crosby, Gilbert Seldes, Paul White, Edward Barrett and Joseph Harsch on Mr. Davis' return to broadcasting

JAN 15 1954

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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

The President came smiling down the center aisle. Everyone rose and applauded. Ike wore a light television blue shirt. He may have had on a touch of make-up. He delivered a 55-minute, moderate speech that was in many parts a mild continuation of the New Deal. It was not reactionary or counter-revolutionary. The style was dull and uninspired. Applause came from Republican conservatives at all the wrong times. The only genuine burst greeted the one really false note, Ike's proposal for "de-citizenizing" Communists. Puzzled Congressmen didn't know what it meant but were glad to show they hated Reds. There were 45 other interruptions of hand clapping by two or more people and five more by single endeavorers who didn't get off the ground. There was universal sour silence when Ike asked for a higher debt limit.

It is not possible any longer to say Ike doesn't have a program. He has. It is precisely 12 months late, and he offers it to an election-year session instead of to the victory-charged first session when chances would have been better. In his own phrase Ike has set out to be "progressive and dynamic" just at a time when Walter Lippmann, his anxious sponsor, warns him that his true role is not this at all but to "quiet its [the nation's] frayed nerves." This conception of Ike as a sort of national sedative is novel and has possibilities. But there is nothing much in Ike's to-be-continued-in-our-next program (except the Red citizenship item) to fray the nerves of anybody except conservatives. Conservatives dominate Congress, however, and they are now ganging up to see how much of the pseudo-New Deal parts of the program they will block.

Our guess is that about a third of the Ike program will pass, that he may win some marginal victories on another third and that the rest will fail. This Congress is hell-bent on tax reduction, and we see the Treasury red-ink figure becoming a lot higher than Ike forecasts. This will be particularly true if the Truman Boom recedes further into the Eisenhower Recession.

The Administration's continuing efforts to saddle McCarthy are amusing, if you find that kind of thing funny. Vice-President Nixon went down to Miami to talk to Joe. He was accompanied by William Rogers, Deputy Attorney-General. Nixon, incidentally, is the real Administration leader in the Senate, not Knowland (R, Calif.).

"Be good, Joe!" pleaded Nixon. He urged these reasons: (a) Ike has awarded the US license to hunt Reds to Senator Jenner (R, Ind.); (b) other Senators are getting sore at Joe's trespassing; (c) if Joe will stick to general, non-Red investigating, the Justice and Internal Revenue officials will feed him good leads; (d) for his own reputation Joe can't afford further flops like the Fort Monmouth "espionage" hunt; (e) to further his political ambitions (*i.e.* to be President) he should start acting "constructive" and make a speech, maybe, on the farm or tax program (written by the best ghosts money can materialize). McCarthy listened attentively and Nixon came back hopeful. He made the mistake of voicing his hopes, and McCarthy promptly repudiated the whole thing as a plot probably Red-inspired. Our tentative judgment is that other Senators are now just about sore enough to give McCarthy real pause; he may very well stop hitting the Red bottle for a while anyway—until the Administration takes him off the wagon next Fall to try to get rid of Democratic liberals like Senators Humphrey, Douglas, Murray and others.

The climate of official opinion is changing quite fast on Red China. Or rather what the State Department is now beginning to think it is safe to say. If war doesn't break out again, it will be possible to look at things realistically before long. The point is that China is here to stay; that our real enemy is Russia, not China; that Chiang in Formosa (though our friend) hasn't a chance of invading the mainland; that our real interest is to split China from Russia, and that our allies, notably Japan, have to trade with China sooner or later. If things quiet down for a year or so, it will be possible to come right out in public with the things which high diplomats are already noting privately.

One of the real phonies of the Eisenhower Administration is the charge that 1,456 "security risks" have been fired since it took office. The purpose of this ambiguous phrase is to imply that Communists are still being found and purged. We are sorry that Ike has joined in this hypocrisy. At a press conference he awkwardly stumbled around in refusing to give a break-down of the figure, and in addressing Congress he raised it to "2,200." McCarthy, Brownell and Administration spokesmen constantly use "security risk" interchangeably with subversives, thereby seeming to substantiate the charges of Communists in government. Now conservative Congresswoman Katharine St. George (R, N.Y.) comes forward, in the conservative *Washington Star*, to say she is informed that only "10 percent or less" of the security-risk cases involve the question of loyalty. Others are drunks, crooks or bar-mouths who would be fired anyway, by any Administration. The security-risk figure is one of the most palpable and transparent hoaxes seen here for some years. It is being kept alive for political purposes, and it is too bad to see Ike helping.

Notes: The jump in the number of unemployed is disturbing, 700,000 in two months; Commerce Department figures also underestimate the total by not making allowance for the annual increase in labor force. . . . This column favors commonwealth status, not statehood, for Alaska, Hawaii and other non-contiguous areas; the Senate is already top-heavy with rotten-borough members from small states. . . . Congress will pay little attention to the Randall Committee report on tariffs: the GOP won't give Ike his tariff cuts in any case. . . . Ike's legislative program will only go through if he fights desperately; remember he told the nation December 5 that his party deserved to lose office if it didn't pass his program.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Early Fight

THE Bricker Amendment to restrict the President's treaty-making powers will be one of the first matters before the Senate this year. Efforts to find a compromise acceptable to the Administration continued through most of last session and still continue. And repeated White House conferences with Bricker have caused speculation that a compromise has been or shortly will be achieved.

But the principal point of the Bricker Amendment cannot be compromised. Section 2—known as the "which" clause—states that a treaty to be valid must be supported by "legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty." If Bricker agrees to drop this clause, he will not have compromised, he will have surrendered. If the Administration accepts the clause, it will have surrendered. As one Administration official put it, "We keep changing words, but when we analyze what they mean we get right back where we started from. You either want something like the 'which' clause, or you don't."

Among those who do—besides Bricker, who is gambling for political stature with the first important measure to bear his name—are some very powerful and adamant Senators: Henry Dworshak (R, Idaho), Everett Dirksen (R, Ill.), Homer Capehart (R, Ind.), and Joseph McCarthy (R, Wis.). Any of these might choose to replace Bricker as leading sponsor if he should somehow be persuaded to put his name on the meaningless "Knowland substitute" which declares that an unconstitutional treaty is unconstitutional.

Among those who don't want anything like the "which" clause is a recently formed committee of distinguished citizens—The Committee For Defense of The Constitution—which, under the leadership of Dr. Edward S. Corwin of Princeton, promises vigorous opposition to the amendment and support for the Administration. Others include Sen. Herbert Lehman (D, N. Y.) who has suggested a simple solution to the danger that laziness in the Senate might result in the approval of a treaty it does not really want: that the Senate rules be changed to require that treaties be considered by a quorum and ratified or rejected by a roll call vote.

. . . Anyhow, Who Cares?

SOME PEOPLE might suppose that a Democratic country would be unwilling to initiate germ warfare while a Communist nation would treat a germ warfare propaganda campaign as purely routine. Not so the loyal neutralist! In the light of all that has developed, the *New Statesman and Nation* of London reaffirms its position, that when the Communists launched their germ warfare charges against the United States "a suspension of judgment" was "the only rational attitude to adopt." (In principle this adherence to detachment will come as a surprise to some who assumed that the editors of the *New Statesman* were trained to suspend judgment only during the time it takes to put pencil to paper.)

Now, however, the sworn statements of the airman whose "confessions" formed the basis of the charges, constitute "new evidence." The *New Statesman* declares:

> Unless we are afraid to think clearly and to follow our argument to its logical conclusion we must admit that someone has been guilty of fabricating a deliberate lie. The only question is whether the fabrication was American or Communist.

I'll compromise and make the chain a little longer.

And what a painful question to have to painfully unravel! Painstaking review, the *New Statesman* argues, suggests that it was the Communists who probably were lying.

But why should they lie? The only answer that the editors of the *New Statesman* can offer is that "the Chinese Government at first believed the Americans guilty of germ warfare." How natural! And, after all "men in high positions are gullible and as easily duped as the rest of us" (a charge, which, in this instance the Chinese Communists must indignantly deny).

Oh well, it's all too late now. "In psychological warfare," the editors note, "the aggressor who gets in the first propaganda blow obtains thereby an enormous advantage. It is the credible myth, not its tardy factual confutation which achieves its psychological effect." How inconvenient to note that this point might undermine the first assertion, that "suspension of judgment" was "the only rational policy" at the time when the blow was struck!

The real point, the editors of the *New Statesman* emphasize, is not whether the charges were true or false, but why the oppressed millions of Asia were ready to believe them. Why indeed if this assertion is true, and why also the privileged few of Great Turnstile Street. The answer, the *New Statesman* declares, is that the US "seems to be frustrating the forces of liberation." Where? An alternative answer might be found in the state of mind engendered by the good old *New Statesman*.

Anyhow, who cares? "Even in the Western World," the *New Statesman* editors record, "only a small minority vote the values of objective truth and objective justice high enough to risk their livelihood for them, far less their

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lives." Between that self-indictment and the Soviet indictment, most people we suppose would find the latter less appalling to contemplate.

Middle East Fumble

PROTESTS by the people and the government of India against proposed US military aid to Pakistan has been denounced in some quarters here as an attempt to "blackmail" the US. But there is more than a little evidence that it is the US which is trying to blackmail India by threatening to upset the power balance on the Indian subcontinent.

Given our failure to enlist the Arab nations, the advantages of drawing a strong holding line from Turkey to Burma and the Western forces in Southeast Asia are obvious. But in such a line, Afghanistan is at least as important as Pakistan, and India probably more important. So the disadvantage of alienating Pakistan's neighbors by singling her out for military aid are also obvious.

It is argued that although India has a 1,500-mile border with Red China, she is secure behind the Himalayas whereas Pakistan, which has no frontier with either China or Russia, is vulnerable. But Afghanistan lies between Pakistan and Russia and is in turn protected along much of its frontier by an extension of the Himalayas. The topography of the region is such that invasions of the subcontinent from the northwest have always been channeled through the Khyber and Bolan passes which can be reached only through Afghanistan.

It is also argued that the Pakistan army should be strengthened to take over the old British Imperial Army function of protecting surrounding areas. But regardless of its strength, the Pakistan army could not perform that function. It certainly would not be welcomed in India, and Afghanistan, at present challenging Pakistan's right to border territories with a population of seven million, has also protested the contemplated program of military aid.

Since a serious invasion of the Indian subcontinent could not in any case be contained by local forces, our aim there should be to create a situation ensuring initial local resistance and assuring freedom of access and deployment to the free-world forces which would have to be thrown in if we wished to save the region. Consequently, a policy which tends to increase rather than decrease the mutual suspicions of the nations there would seem to be motivated by the belief that India can be forced to cooperate with the West through fear of being militarily outdistanced by her neighbor.

What we have so far accomplished has been recorded by Robert Trumbull reporting to the *New York Times* from New Delhi: "There are two certainties in the situation. . . . One is that the US, by holding military conversations with India's principal adversary, has aroused resentments and suspicions that will be a long time abating. The other is that if arms actually are sent to Pakistan, all of India will be swept by anti-Americanism."

Economic aid to Pakistan would not be opposed by her neighbors. And once economic stability in Pakistan had been achieved, tensions in the area would be reduced to a point where a program of military aid which would in fact strengthen the free world could be achieved.

Test Case

SECRETARY of the Interior Douglas McKay wants a dam built within the Dinosaur National Monument in Colorado. Thirty-two organizations dedicated to the preservation of all national parks do not. They have joined in an Emergency Committee on National Resources, under the chairmanship of Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, former head of the Fish and Wildlife Service, to fight the proposal when it comes before a House subcommittee.

Opponents of the proposal believe it would establish a precedent for opening all other national parks to exploitation. And they offer a counter-plan for development of the Upper Colorado River Basin utilizing sites outside the Monument. Major General U. S. Grant III, formerly of the Army Engineers and now president of the American Planning and Civic Association, claims the counter-plan would provide 2,360,000 more acre-feet of storage and cost $54 million less than McKay's project. It would save the 322 square miles of the Green and Yanta river Canyons—considered second only to the Grand Canyon in scenic beauty—the unique fossil deposits and the recreational areas McKay's project would flood.

New Republic JANUARY 18, 1954 TABLE OF CONTENTS VOLUME 130 NUMBER 3 ISSUE 2043 WASHINGTON, DC

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Washington Wire by T. R. B. 2
Behind the Headlines 3
" . . . *Be Candid Where You Can*" 5
an editorial
The News on Television 7
by Gilbert Seldes
Upon the Return of Elmer Davis on the Air 10
by Paul White, Edward Barrett, John Crosby, Joseph Harsch Robert Sherwood
But We Were Born Free 13
by Elmer Davis
Behind Pella's Fall 14
by Frank Gorrell
The Superficial Aspect 16
by Gerald W. Johnson
Chester Bowles, *Ambassador's Report* 17
reviewed by Michael Straight
Albert Camus, *The Rebel* 19
reviewed by Waldo Frank
K. W. Morgan, *Hindu Religion* 20
reviewed by Faubion Bowers
D. H. Lawrence, *Literature and Censorship* 21
reviewed by Mark Schorer
The Record Review 22
by Robert Evett

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial: "...Be Candid Where We Can"

SINCE President Eisenhower's State of the Union message was little more than an index to future proposals, judgment on specifics will have to be postponed. What he did say was encouraging insofar as he refused to surrender to those within his party who would have him try to nullify the accomplishments of the past 20 years. And there was solid gain for US prestige in his reiteration of our willingness to explore afresh the problems of the control of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

On two vital issues, however, the President retreated into ambiguity. His statements concerning the proposed measures to insure the external and internal security of this nation were misleading in the extreme. Once again the techniques of the advertising agency were invoked to cloak present confusion and past error with the appearance of steadfast control.

In raising the problem of security against external attack, the President said: "We owe ourselves and the world a candid explanation" and he went on to assert "the usefulness of . . . new weapons" creating "new relationships between men and materials" and permitting "economies in the use of men as we build forces suited to our situation in the world today."

Here, the key word is "economies." It is one thing to argue for a reduction in military power in order to lessen the economic burden of the Cold War. It is quite another to worship the "balanced budget," embark upon contradictory measures to achieve it, cloak these with the slogan "more defense at less cost," and then, as the military realities assert themselves, desperately seek a magic solution in "new weapons" and pretend that these were the basis of action all along. This Administration has chosen the latter course, and the President reasserted it.

Some genuine savings in military expenditures can be made without cutting strength. But the Administration has behaved during the past year as if convinced that no program initiated before its coming could be anything but wasteful foolishness. That attitude is evident in the recent order that the Army reduce its manpower by 10 percent without impairing combat effectiveness or reducing troops overseas. It was also evident in the $5 billion Air Force cut of last spring.

In the case of the Army, Secretary of Defense Wilson claimed that there were 33,000 support troops for each fighting division of 17,000 men. He arrived at the figure by dividing the number of divisions—20—into the total manpower of the Army. But he neglected to consider 18 regimental combat teams, equal to six more divisions, as well as 117 anti-aircraft battalions and 150 battalions of heavy artillery, tanks, combat engineers and combat signal troops, equal to 18 more divisions. Inclusion of these reduces the number of support troops per division to 14,800.

Wilson also ignored the 30 percent of all Army personnel who are unavailable at any given time, men in basic training, advanced training, en route, or sick. There are in fact 7,500, not 33,000, support troops per combat division, and these must man hospitals, truck companies, repair units, camps, etc.

There are not 142,000 support troops in the entire Army from which to make the required cut of 142,000 men. The reduction must come out of combat battalions and regiments which are not included in divisions. And since our overseas forces require replacements at a rate of 36,800 monthly while only approximately 22,000 new men are available each month, a cut of 142,000 will eventually require a reduction of close to 100,000 in our forces overseas.

THESE are the facts behind the withdrawal of two US divisions from Korea. At least two more will have to be pulled out to meet the reduction required by June 30, 1955.

But in his message, the President said that "our armed forces must regain mobility of action . . . our strategic reserves must be centrally placed and readily deployable. . . ." The implication was that troops would be brought home to make up such a "central reserve." Yet the "new look" calls for a total reduction of between 600,000 to 700,000 in the armed forces during the next three and one-half years. By June 30, 1957, the Army is to be reduced by 470,000 men to a total strength of one million, leaving it with 16 of its present 20 divisions. Obviously, units forced home by the cuts scheduled for June, 1955, will have to be demobilized to meet the 1957 figure. Where then is the central strategic reserve?

That would seem to be the question which forced the Administration to perform in the space of six months a complete reversal of thinking on airpower. Last year the Administration insisted on cutting the 1955 Air Force goal from 143 wings to 120; this year it has reestablished the original goal less six air-transport wings. But there have been serious cutbacks in construction, parts-supply and training. And the original goal will

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not now be reached until 1957—a loss of two years.

Such behavior hardly suggests a steadfast control. Rather it suggests a frantic effort to recoup after a serious error of judgment.

The same error of judgment—which persists as "budget-first" thinking—has caused the Administration to take one of the most momentous decisions in history for what can only be termed trivial reasons. Nuclear weapons are to be the central factor in our military planning. No longer is atom warfare to be the final resort of a nation retaliating against brutal attack. In order to balance our books we are ready to make atomic weapons the everyday tools of warfare. This despite the fact that it is becoming less and less possible to restrict or define the targets of nuclear weapons.

And even if the enormous moral implications of such a decision are put aside, the course which the Administration has adopted is open to challenge on purely economic and strategic grounds. That the adoption of tactical nuclear weapons for large-scale use will effect savings is not borne out by history. The savings that can be made through the use of atomic weapons will in all probability be more than counterbalanced by the increased cost of the defenses that must be kept in readiness to counter them. That the Administration is either confused on this point or simply will not admit to it is evidenced by the disproportionately small sums it is willing to spend on continental defense while it commits us to waging atomic war.

In the area of international alliances, the Administration's policies are also determined by "budget-first" thinking. But again, rather than openly argue his thesis, the President chose ambiguity. He alluded to the European Defense Community while emphasizing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Following Secretary of State Dulles' recent threat of an "agonizing reappraisal" of our foreign policy if France did not soon ratify EDC, and the still more recent statement of Gen. J. Lawton Collins, US military representative to NATO, that German troops must be brought into NATO either through EDC or otherwise, the reasons for the President's vagueness seem plain. Reducing our own forces, we must shift our overseas commitments to others. There are only two practical alternatives to the EDC—inclusion of a German national army in NATO or a US withdrawal from all of continental Europe except Spain and the Eastern Mediterranean and dependence upon a peripheral air-atomic strategy. The statements of Dulles and Eisenhower, and our progress in establishing a "Radford Line" of aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean and air bases in an arc from Spain through southern Italy and Greece to northern Turkey, indicate that we are prepared to act on either alternative.

Europeans have already protested this "adaptation of the military strategic concept to the Republican concept of budgetary solvency." But the new Administration is so intent upon its budget goals that it is not willing to take the time—nor has it made any effort to do so during its year in power—to work out a modification of EDC which would be acceptable to the non-Communist, left of center forces in France and Italy. It wants a fast, cheap way of protecting Western European industry from military attack, even if that industry is opened to economic and social attack in the process.

THE PRESIDENT opened his remarks on internal security with the dramatic announcement that, "Under the . . . new security program, more than 2,200 employees have been separated from the government." Here again is the advertising agency technique.

Since the original figure of 1,456 government employees fired under the new security program was released in October, the press has been trying to discover just how many of these were Communists, spies, or sexual perverts. The Administration, including the President himself, has been repeatedly asked and has consistently refused to break down the figure. And although all available evidence supports the conclusion of Rep. Katharine St. George (R, N. Y.) that less than 10 percent of the original separations involved a question of loyalty, the general public has been left with the impression that the great majority of the cases involved actual or potential spies.

In making no effort to dispel this notion when announcing the new figure, the President actually strengthened those who hope to wage the 1954 election on the issue of "Communists in government."

Then came the dramatic proposal which brought the assembled lawmakers, cheering, to their feet—"I recommend . . . that a citizen . . . convicted in the courts of hereafter conspiring to advocate the overthrow of this government by force or violence be treated as having . . . forfeited his US citizenship."

In headlines, this proposal might seem a new and exciting protection. In reality, it would have little practical effect. The McCarran Immigration Act already provides such a penalty for traitors in time of war. Eisenhower would extend this provision to persons convicted under the Smith Act of 1940. Since only 61 persons have been convicted under the act during the past 13 years, and since it already provides for the loss of many citizenship rights, it is difficult to see the Eisenhower proposal as any great contribution to our internal security. But it was meant to be taken as such. And it too reveals the Administration's decision to follow the lead of Attorney General Brownell in squeezing every possible political advantage from the Communist issue.

Early in his message the President named his objective: "a stronger America." This goal could have been the rallying cry for bipartisan effort. Yet despite his need, the President did not petition Democrats for support with clear, well-reasoned argument. He chose rather to try to mislead them on matters involving national survival, and he served notice that he is allied to those in his party who will seek to brand them as coddlers of Communists.

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The News On Television

Can television solve the problems of balanced news reporting which radio has yet to master?

by Gilbert Seldes

THE ARRIVAL of Elmer Davis as a commentator on the news by way of television (Sundays on ABC, one p.m. EST) provides a good starting point for an inquiry of considerable importance: what is the present state and what are the possibilities of TV news coverage? Mr. Davis himself indicated that one of the urgent problems of radio remains unsolved when, as he was leaving the air a few months ago, he assured his listeners that the only pressure under which he was retiring was his own blood pressure. It was good to know that he had not been forced off the air because his views displeased a sponsor or a network; but that Davis, as a man of honor, felt obliged to explain this, implied that the opposite might have been true. It was, in a way, a parallel to the hosannas that greeted President Eisenhower's exhortation not to join the book-burners. Thirty years ago if a President had said the same thing, we would have assumed that he had run out of the usual Fourth of July platitudes; last year it made headlines.

The background of Davis' personal statement is an ill-defined feeling that any attitude toward the left of 1906 GOP policies has been getting short shrift on the air. The feeling was ill-defined because whenever a news analyst was dropped, by sponsor, station or network, the official reason given was as plausible as the suspicion of pressure was strong, but unprovable. In some cases a commentator regarded as liberal was replaced by another liberal; in others, a sponsor exercised his privilege of buying time for a commentator he liked. In any case, after the end of World War II, careful observers noted that certain voices were no longer heard and others were becoming less outspoken, whereas the commentators with a strong anti-New Deal attitude seemed to flourish. These observers were filled with dismay at the prospect of the same situation, with all its unsolved problems, being transferred to television.

The problems were not so much transferred as shifted. The critical event in television unlike radio is not the daily report and commentary; it is the weekly summary and discussion. This is a change in the balance of influence, and it is important. It rises, moreover, out of the very nature of the television broadcasting medium itself.

The incomparable advantage of television is that it can bring the present event to the audience—the convention, the committee meeting, the fire (if it lasts long enough), the flood if it occurs within broadcasting range. When it delivers a report after the event, TV is operating below its own full capacities, so there is always the tendency to turn news reporting into newsreel. The available news clips therefore determine, to an extent, the news coverage. No newscaster actually omits major events, even if all he can do is read a bulletin; but late news must be briefly handled, because the programs are prepared in advance, and a good bit of footage on the minor events of yesterday may be featured

With this emphasis on the available film, TV news coverage tends to be factual. Many local news programs are brief—from five to seven minutes—and the consequence is that the facts are usually limited to headline items—plus a trace of comedy or human interest at the end. I think it can be taken for granted that most newscasters (in the big cities at least) plan to include all the important news and to treat it factually. The special quality (which cannot be called bias) of any individual program is composed of several factors. One is the order in which the items are presented, although it is an axiom in broadcasting that "every item is on page one." The amount of time given to an item is also vital and, as surveys show, is usually tied to the availability of film or other pictorial material. Finally, there is the matter of wording, intonation, and the general demeanor of the newscaster on the air.

I have never heard any daily TV newscaster editorialize on a subject that was controversial in the sense that the word is used politically. Nothing like Elmer Davis' constant attacks on the enemies of civil liberty has ever occurred in television, so far as I know. If there is a daily analyst who openly expresses a pro- or anti-Administration prejudice, I have yet to meet him. But the sort of political spectrum we have been familiar with in radio—ranging, let us say, from Davis to Fulton Lewis Jr.—may come into being when more TV stations are in action.

When that happens we will face all the questions still unanswered after 30 years of radio: Should newscasting be separated from commentary? Should commentators have complete freedom to air their (or their sponsor's)

Gilbert Seldes, author of books and articles on all of the popular arts, was a pioneer in television as director of TV for CBS, 1937-45.

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prejudices? How can we be sure that all legitimate shades of opinion, at least, get a fair chance at the audience? As of now, the questions are simpler: Is it a good thing to have virtually all our news delivered in the atmosphere of neutrality? Or do the weekly review and discussion programs, with ample scope for individual judgment and differences of opinion, supply the necessary ingredients for a thoughtful understanding of current events?

LET'S LOOK at some of them. Last year a program called "Chronoscope" got some unfavorable mentions in New York newspapers. It was presented as a discussion of the important events of our time, and physically speaking that is exactly what it was. Several people sat in a room and talked about the significance of political and economic developments. The objection to the program was that while it dealt with genuinely controversial subjects, the only controversy was between all the speakers on one side and the unseen, unheard, uninvited representatives of the other side. I did not, of course, see all of the programs, but every time I caught one, the object of attack was some facet of the New and Fair Deals, and never, on these occasions, was the defense present—and this was the basis of the criticism made in the press. Before this season began, CBS moved in on the program and made itself responsible for the subjects chosen and for the selection of speakers—frequently members of the CBS news staff compose the panel. The one-sidedness of the original "Chronoscope" has been modified—and the sponsor of the original version has continued with the present one.

The justification of CBS' action lies in an established network policy: all programs dealing with news involve a special responsibility from the broadcaster to the public. A corollary of this, accepted by all the networks, so far as I know, is that no sponsor can twist or color the news in any way. Most of the big "O and O" stations, those owned and operated by the networks, maintain news departments of their own. The men who edit and prepare the news and who broadcast it are regular members of the networks' own staffs, even if they are eventually paid by their sponsors.

Another discussion, "Answers for Americans," is produced by Facts Forum, a "non-partisan, non-political educational organization." I have been told of this program by broadcasters who were offended when it was offered to them. According to a *Time* story about Facts Forum, it is backed by a Texas oil man and heavily weighted in favor of "isolationism, ultra-conservatism and McCarthyism." I can make no comment on the program because I get my facts at second hand; but it should be clear that if one is rich enough, and neither law nor public opinion stand in the way, one can create an "educational program" and get the time free or, at a pinch, buy the time for straight propaganda, using the news as the springboard.

A third example of the weekly review program on CBS is "See It Now," produced by Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly. It is sponsored; yet Mr. Murrow has for so long been so integral a part of CBS that the program has the feel of a network production and when special trips are made to Korea or Germany, CBS staff men are used. When the program "takes sides" the integrity of Mr. Murrow and the corporate power of CBS make a formidable combination. In the case of Lt. Milo Radulovich, who was about to be separated from the Air Force because of opinions ascribed to some of his relatives, Mr. Murrow could present only the officer's side because the Air Force was maintaining a stuffy silence. His offer of equal time for reply was the act of a man who had a clear concept of the decencies of human argument, *but it was not obligatory.* If "See It Now" were actually a network production, it could not have presented the officer's case without arranging for a rebuttal because the ruling of the FCC, as currently interpreted, puts on a network the specific duty to supply an answer to itself whenever it speaks in its own person; on the other hand, no sponsor is so obligated.

Another Murrow broadcast illustrated some of the difficulties of a fair presentation of controversy. A group of citizens in Indianapolis found themselves unable to rent an auditorium when they wanted to form a branch of the American Civil Liberties Union; when a room in a church was finally opened to them, an American Legion post held a meeting of protest on the same night. By juxtaposition of scrupulously selected film clips of the two meetings, Murrow created the atmosphere of debate and managed to convey the tension of the event. I cannot imagine a partisan of either side finding fault with the presentation; but discounting my admiration for Murrow and my own leaning toward the ACLU, I still am convinced that at the end of the program the average observer would have felt that the Legion was trying to suppress liberty—and that Murrow wanted his audience to think so.

TWO OTHER ways of handling news and ideas in television need to be mentioned. On his ABC program, "At Issue," Martin Agronsky has a discussion with a guest; obviously the tenor of the program depends on the guests chosen. In the past six months Archibald MacLeish, Granville Hicks, Henry Ford II and Mark Van Doren have appeared as well as labor leaders and important people from the UN. And on the program to be supplanted by Elmer Davis, Mr. Gerald Johnson has simply sat before a lectern and read a quarter-hour of commentary in the manner of a crusty Tory, but with the outlook of an egghead—a rare and effective combination. Nothing has been said about the reasons for dropping this program, and it is possible that Mr. Johnson will return to the air. He was consistently critical of the Administration, used stinging adjectives, and if his place had been taken by a conservative analyst, we should have another of those unproved cases of "pressure."

I have tried to describe these various programs in

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fairly neutral terms because I wanted to emphasize the questions of principle they bring up. In connection with straight reporting. Is the coverage adequate, especially in smaller cities? (A point to remember is that network stations in big cities are not typical; in radio, the great sustaining programs on which the networks prided themselves were often dropped by 40 to 70 percent of their affiliates.) Is it desirable that the bulk of news-programs, on a daily schedule, should be divorced from analytical (or even controversial) elements? The question brought up by the case of "Chronoscope" is whether a network limits free discussion when it refuses to let a sponsor put on the air people who represent a single political attitude. The Murrow broadcasts make us ask what is required for fair play and, particularly in the Indianapolis story, whether actual neutrality can be achieved. The Johnson case, since his programs were put on, without sponsor, by the network, should make us think of the responsibilities of the broadcasters themselves for a wide variety of freely expressed opinion.

In many areas of broadcasting a "third force" exists, between the sponsor and the network; it is the Foundation. In radio we have had educational stations, usually FM, and we are to have a number of educational stations in television, but since many of these will be supported by state funds it is unlikely that they will make significant experiments in handling the news. What we need, I should say, is that "variety of situations" in the creation of news programs which would insure us against both the massive power of those who can pay for programs and the power of stations afraid to offend the sponsors. There has existed for some time a small movement to forbid broadcasters, by law, to sell news programs of any sort to sponsors. But since no such law is likely to be passed in the immediate future, the practical thing is to encourage as much diversity as possible in the way the news is handled.

There are other problems—of law, of psychology, of ethics. And information is needed. We already have people who analyze the contents of entertainment programs and who know how many crimes of violence are committed on the television screen per week. Now while the standards of TV newscasting are still being evolved we need observers who will take two or three controversial issues and report on how these are treated in a week of broadcasts all over the country, so that we can know whether bias existed, how much of it was on one side, in what kinds of programs it occurred, and who was responsible.

At the same time, philosophers interested in law could struggle with the dilemma of the FCC which says that stations must operate in the public interest but interposes no obstacle to selling time to sponsors who operate in their private interest. Finally we need a varied group to analyze the problem of carrying news in a matrix of entertainment.

Elmer Davis . . .

As for McCarthy—Archbishop Richard J. Cushing of Boston has said that "despite any extremes, or mistakes that might have been made, I don't believe anything has brought the evils and methods of Communism more to the attention of the American people than his investigations." This amounts to saying that nothing brings the danger of fire more to the attention of the public than turning in false alarms all over town.

* * *

Mr. Velde is a useful man; but not to the people to whom he tries to be useful.

* * *

Objectivity often leans over backward so far that it makes the news business merely a transmission belt for pretentious phonies.

* * *

Experience has taught me, when the versions of the same story given by two wire services differ materially, to prefer the less exciting; the other might have been souped up to beat the competition.

* * *

At any age it is better to be a dead lion than a living dog—though better still, of course, to be a living and victorious lion; but it is easier to run the risk of being killed (or fired) in action if before long you are going to be dead anyway. This freedom seems to me the chief consolation of old age.

* * *

Educate any man, of whatever race or color, in what he didn't know before and you are taking a chance; how he will turn out will depend somewhat on the education but more on his background and environment and on what was in him to start with; you may get a Nehru and you may get a Jomo Kenyatta. The one thing they have in common is a conviction that those who educated them, having fulfilled that function, ought to get out.

* * *

We have now reached the point where, if agents of the FBI appear in the home town of a prominent man and begin asking questions about him, his neighbors know that he is either on his way to jail or to high public office. I doubt if such confusion is healthy.

* * *

The first condition of the survival of any civilization is that it should win its wars.

The above is taken from "But We Were Born Free" by Elmer Davis to be published shortly by the Bobbs-Merrill Co., copyrighted by Elmer Davis.

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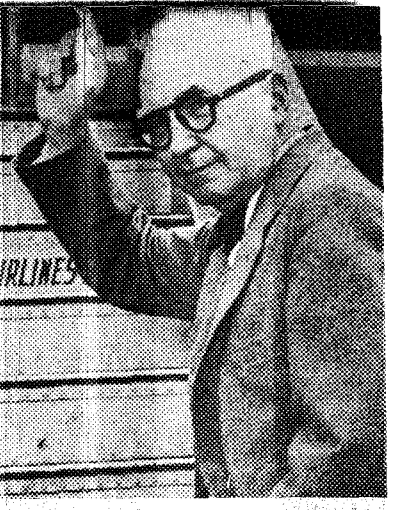
Upon the Return of

Elmer Davis on the Air



Paul W. White:

THERE IS a legend, carefully cultivated by me, that I "discovered" Elmer Davis as a radio personality. The time has come to make full and frank confession.

Let's go back to August, 1939, when, as news director for CBS, I had just met in London with the network's great and far-flung foreign news staff. It was an exclusive club, consisting of only three members, a secretary and an office boy.

The reporters were William L. Shirer who came over from Berlin, Thomas Grandin, from Paris, and Edward R. Murrow, who was European director and whose office was on Hallam Street convenient to the BBC.

The four of us, plus Miss Kay Campbell, the secretary, had all agreed that war was not far off. I don't remember the name of the office boy or whether he reached the same conclusion. The success of Hitler's Anschluss in 1938, the British and French capitulation at Munich in the fall of that year and the Sudeten grab in the following spring had predetermined the war. There was merely the question of the date.

Upon my return home I so reported to Bill Paley, the President of CBS, and Edward Klauber, Executive Vice President, who probably contributed more than anyone else to the development of radio news. He had been an expert newsman on the *New York Times* and he retained his interest in reporting and editing long after he had left the newspaper business for the broadcasting trade.

If war were not far off there had to be a lot of things done in a hurry. We had to expand our European staff with "stringers," if not with full-time correspondents. In New York we had to build adequate studios and construct an intricate engineering setup to listen to foreign broadcasts and to patch into our network lines those broadcasts specifically delivered for CBS.

We did these things hastily and with a little time to spare.

Then, in August, we found that our then news analyst, H. V. Kaltenborn, was traveling in Europe and we had no one to sit at home and put the pieces together on the air.

Kaltenborn, at the time of Munich, had been a spectacular success to judge from his audience mail and the rating services. He would not be an easy man to replace if and when war came.

Klauber and I talked over many names for the vacant job and he suggested Elmer Davis several times. I had heard Elmer broadcast only once, an ad lib description of a beer parade that someone staged in New York in advocacy of the repeal of prohibition. I had been less than impressed.

Elmer's dry humor was much drier than the country and his forte, it seemed to me, was certainly not that of extemporaneous speaking.

But Klauber rejected other candidates and he finally asked me to call Elmer and appeal to him to come on down from Connecticut and help out.

"I'm sorry but I can't do it," Elmer said at the other end of the telephone.

"Why not?" I asked.

"Because I'm finishing a novel," he said. "And besides I can't broadcast and besides nobody would want to listen to me anyway."

Not in that telephone call but in a series of them I somehow persuaded Elmer to change his mind. He never did finish the novel. He did learn how to broadcast and he did find that lots of people wanted to listen to him.

Elmer worked under my direction, but precious little of it at that, until he was drafted into the government service as head of OWI in 1942. At the end of the war I tried to lure him back to CBS but, regrettably, was outbid by another network.

Our paths crossed professionally once again when, in 1952, I returned briefly to network news as managing editor of American Broadcasting Company's radio and television political convention coverage. And, as always, it was a pleasure to work with him even within the cramped confines of a broadcasting booth.

There have been a few times in our long association when my faith in Elmer's judgments has been shaken. But that has always been at the bridge table rather than at the job. The man strikes me as altogether too timid in his responses to a demand bid.

But as far as broadcasting goes, and it goes pretty far, I yield to no man in my admiration of him. He has per-

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Paul W. White is executive editor of KFMB—AM and TV—in San Diego, Calif. He has frequently been called the "father of radio news" because of the staff he directed over a 13-year period at Columbia Broadcasting System. He accepts the sobriquet, he says, only in the case of legitimate sons, such as the subject of this.

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ceptiveness, the power to reason and the ability to express his views that are unmatched and have given our craft an adultness it has too often lacked.

Above everything else, though, he has integrity. I am a fan of his and I welcome him back to the air.

Edward W. Barrett:

WHILE Elmer Davis was rather reluctantly serving as a wartime government official, I used to watch him testify before Congressional committees. Any question from a Congressman of character would bring a respectful and constructive answer. But any tricky question from one of the Congressional mountebanks would cause his nostrils to twitch perceptibly. That was the sign for Davis' colleagues to hang onto their hats. They knew the nostril-twitch usually preceded a dry-voiced thrust at the questioner.

The trait hardly made Davis the most popular witness on Capitol Hill, but at least it symbolized a key reason for his value to the nation: his ability to smell a fraud a mile away—and his unwillingness to conceal what he smells.

I have observed Elmer Davis as a private citizen, as a commentator, and as a government official for a decade. Repeatedly I have seen him deal objectively and respectfully with men of integrity, be they Right, Left or Center. Just as repeatedly have I seen him disrespectfully puncture fraudulent arguments, fraudulent pronouncements and those fraudulent gentry who traffic in distortion.

When Davis had the burdensome job of supervising the hastily organized Office of War Information, he quickly came to respect—and win respect from—the Marshalls, the Bradleys and other brass hats of character. He just as quickly tangled with the brass phonies, forcing them to release embarrassing information which, in order to hide blunders, they sought to cloak in "security."

As a government official, Davis generally got along well with men of integrity in Congress, regardless of party. He tangled repeatedly with the headline-hunters and corner-cutters.

Davis, though he rarely got credit for it, also explored how a security-loyalty program could be handled with reasonable intelligence and decency and, in his words, "with the benefit of any doubt going to the United States Government." If OWI's security division, co-operating with the FBI and other intelligence agencies, uncovered grounds for reasonable doubts about an employee's security or loyalty, and if the individual could not clear away those doubts, the employee had to go. But unless it was an open and shut case, the severance was effected quietly—and without stigmatizing the employee for life.

Davis respected the FBI and co-operated with it. But, when it went overboard, he could be withering. Once J. Edgar Hoover with straight face forwarded to him a voluminous collection of hearsay charges against one of Davis' distinguished government colleagues—a man who has effectively proved his loyalty time and again. Davis, it happened, was then engaged in sharp controversy with the accused. But that did not deter Elmer from puncturing the charges. He did so in roughly these words:

> I am troubled to see so worthy an organization as the FBI waste so many man-hours on such an enterprise. . . . Among other things, I note voluminous testimony from a series of informants to the effect that Mr. Blank is believed to have belonged to the ..... If the investigators had looked on the front page of the *New York Times* of (date), they could have ascertained far more easily that Mr. Blank did indeed join this organization, along with such other notorious subversives as William Allen White and a half-dozen citizens of like distinction.

Elmer Davis' workout in government helped strengthen one of his outstanding qualifications—that of generally knowing what he is talking about. He had long scrutinized government from the journalist's point of view. Later, he saw government from the inside. Ever since, he has taken pains to study it first-hand. While too many of Washington's first-string pundits have sat cerebrating in their offices, Davis has plodded about Washington, interviewing officialdom first-hand, and joining in countless press conferences. At those press conferences, he could often be found in his characteristic role: dealing respectfully with men of integrity and thrusting barbed queries at the pompous and the insincere.

Blood pressure, unfortunately, may limit Elmer Davis' work schedule. Happily it will never impair his sensitive nostrils.

Edward W. Barrett, former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, served under Elmer Davis in the Office of War Information.

John Crosby:

I SUPPOSE the most distinctive characteristic Elmer Davis brings to the broadcasting of news is plain, ordinary horse sense. It is an odd and lamentable thing that horse sense should be so rare, not only on the air but in the public prints as well, but it is a fact that Davis' gifts are almost unique.

In part, this is a result of his vast and irreplacable experience at news-gathering. I recall asking him at the Republican national convention in 1952 how many national party conventions he had covered and he replied that this was his fifteenth. When you remember that these conventions are held only once every four years, you readily see that that is a lot of conventions.

Later, that same day I believe, a rumor swept the convention hall that General MacArthur was going to make a dramatic appearance and sweep himself into the Presidential nomination by sheer personal magnetism. The rumor got much more play on the air than it ever deserved—but not from Davis. Davis has been at a lot of conventions and heard a lot of rumors which never came off. This priceless gift of skepticism, this ability to assess what may happen and what probably won't, this detached and learned and wry appraisal of the high and mighty,

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is not something that can be easily learned. It takes years and years and then more years of experience.

Partly because of his many years, partly because of the quality of his mind, Davis' news shows have a depth and historical perspective that is not present in any others with the possible exception of Gerald Johnson who has also been around for a long time.

Davis is not easily stampeded into hysteria or indignation. Not easily? Not ever. I can't remember him raising his voice. He does not view disaster with equanimity exactly but with the long, calm view that there have been other disasters in the past and there will be others in the future and, more importantly, that they are not quite as disastrous as the guys on the other networks say they are.

This is reassuring. You always get the idea that, while things are bad today, they will be no better tomorrow—but not much worse either. But there will, at any rate, *be* a tomorrow and that, in these troublous times, is as much comfort as we can expect from a commentator or as we deserve.

John Crosby is the most widely quoted newspaper critic of radio and television in America.

Joseph C. Harsch:

ONE THING no one ever called Elmer Davis is a pussyfooter or sailtrimmer. The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every citizen "freedom of speech." Mr. Davis takes that guarantee literally. He says whatever he thinks. He says it concisely and beyond shadow of doubt, with reasons. The fact that a particular view or point of view of his may not happen to be currently popular with a lot of people, even perhaps with the most revered object in radio, a sponsor, is a matter of indifference to Elmer Davis. I can feel only sympathy for any one who made the mistake of trying to persuade Mr. Davis to "tone down" something he felt compelled to say. The mistake could only be made once.

For this reason, if for no other (and there are plenty of others), it's a good thing to have him back on the air waves speaking his mind. The pressure on the newsman, whether in radio or press, to conform to the popular assumption of the moment is ever present. It's so much easier to repeat folklore, and so much less controversial, than it is to "stick your neck out." In these days, as always, there is little thanks to the man who challenges mental and emotional fads. Thinking, like fashions, goes by fads. It is only by coincidence that Elmer Davis is ever fashionable.

Whether all of Elmer's colleagues appreciate it I do not know, but all of them do benefit from the fact that he is the first iconoclast of the profession. Even those who disagree totally with his point of view towards events and affairs gain freedom to express their views from the freedom which Mr. Davis exercises.

Joseph C. Harsch is a Christian Science Monitor *columnist and NBC commentator.*

Elmer Davis in a Former "Life"

by Robert E. Sherwood

TWENTY-SIX years ago I was editor of a weekly magazine called *Life* (it was not as big and not nearly as successful as the weekly magazine that now bears the same name). I persuaded Elmer Davis, lately of the *New York Times,* to write the editorials for this ailing journal. He contributed richly to its downfall.

That was 1928, the year when Herbert Hoover ran for the Presidency against Alfred E. Smith. "Put Hoover in the White House and keep the Pope out of it," was a slogan that gained many votes and helped to shatter the Solid South for the first time since the War Between the States. Prohibition was an issue in that campaign, and after the returns were in, a Republican orator described the result as a "victory for the American home over the night club." (Davis and I both voted for the night club.)

Elmer's editorials in that fascinating year are worth rereading today. He had a great deal to say about the stock market and his views, of course, approximated the rankest heresy. For instance: "It looks as if there were several billion dollars of sucker money in this country that are bound to be lost somewhere; now that the bottom has dropped out of Florida the money is getting ready to be lost in Wall Street, but violent fluctuation of prices on Wall Street is not very good for American business. It might be cheaper in the long run if we encourage the development of roulette."

A sacred cow of 1928 was the installment plan, and here were some of his many comments on that:

> Some businesses, and some marriages, can pay dividends even on an inflated capital stock; others cannot, as the records of the bankruptcy courts and the divorce courts prove.
>
> These failures might have been expected; a woman who buys and wears this year a fur coat for which she will pay next year may naturally start a flirtation without calculating whether she can meet the later installments; a man who buys what he wants by signing on the dotted line, in confidence that things will break right when payment is due, is likely to overexpand his emotional commitments as well. But bankruptcies and divorces are the price we pay for our national philosophy.
>
> *Non omnia possumus omnes,* as an ancient writer put it. But that faint-hearted philosophy is unworthy of the land of equal opportunity; thanks to deferred payment, we can all do everything.

In the final month of 1928, Elmer concluded his editorial with the shamed-faced admission, "Some months ago, something faintly derogatory was said on this page about people who buy a stock that has never paid dividends at 150, in the hope that they may eventually sell it for 250. Since the stock which inspired this comment has lately approached 400, apologies are hereby tendered for such a short-sighted and un-American utterance."

The print was still moist on those words when Elmer Davis was fired from *Life,* and so was I. Ten months later came the Wall Street crash. It was no credit to our prescience that neither of us was wiped out in that unhappy incident; neither of us had much of anything to lose.

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. . . But We Were Born Free

by Elmer Davis

IF I MAY quote from a forthcoming book—but my own book—more than 1,800 years ago a great historian wrote that rare is the felicity of the times when you can think what you like and say what you think. It was rare then and unfortunately it is rare still. Our ancestors who founded this republic had had to fight for that right, and they thought they could preserve it for us by writing it into the Constitution as its very first amendment. With a great price obtained they this freedom, but we were born free.

But we cannot keep that freedom against the men who are now trying to take it away from us—our fellow citizens, I am ashamed to say—unless we stand up for it and fight to keep it, whenever and wherever and however that may be necessary. For there are men who insist that nobody must think anything but what they think and who mostly think wrong. They do not know what this nation is or what it has been; and they don't understand the world they live in. And those people—millions of them—are being manipulated and used by a few public men in their own interest, the interest of their own power.

These men, of course, claim that they are defending the United States against a deadly danger, Communism. Well, Communism is indeed a deadly danger to American interests—Communism in Russia, Communism in China. But the men who make the most noise about Communism don't seem to be interested in it where it is powerful and dangerous. They are seldom in the forefront of the drives for appropriations for national defense; still less often are they found supporting the American foreign policy, which in the last seven years has stopped the advance of Communism in Europe, stopped it in Korea and saved Japan, and is now helping to stop it in Southeast Asia. All these men seem to care about in our foreign policy is to chase away our allies and leave us to go it alone.

What they profess to worry about is Communism in the United States. And what is Communism in the United States? A danger, as any organization for espionage and sabotage is a danger; but a danger that can be, and so far as we can see is being, dealt with by the FBI. As for Communist ideas, Communism as a political movement—or even as an outlet for the protest vote—if that was ever dangerous in this country it was 20 years ago or more. I don't think it was much of a danger even in the last year of Hoover's Administration when there were 15 million unemployed. In that year's Presidential election there were only a little more than a hundred thousand Communist votes out of a total of almost 40 million. Today there are less than 25,000 party members, and fellow-travelers are not quite, but almost non-existent. People who thought then that Communism might be a way out have learned better.

But the men whose interest lies in scaring people, to increase their own power, tell us that Communism is still a terrible danger, not merely *to* America from outside but *in* America. Congressional committees go over and over the old familiar stories told by ex-Communists, apparently convinced that what happened, or might have happened, or is alleged to have happened 10 years ago is far more important than anything that is happening now. Certainly there were a few subversive characters in our government 10 years ago; but what did they accomplish? Their policies and programs, said a Senate committee lately, are still in effect. What policies and programs? The committee does not tell us. Not the Truman doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Alliance, the military-aid program that stopped Communism in Europe; not the intervention in Korea that stopped Communism there, nor the present program that may stop it in Southeast Asia; nor the Point Four program that may keep it from getting a foothold in other countries; nor the domestic policies that have given us in the past few years the greatest prosperity we have ever enjoyed.

But there seem to be millions of frightened and ignorant people who don't know that; and there are a few smart men who manipulate those frightened and ignorant people for their own advantage. In their investigations they are running short of Communists; if they do get a real one now and then that is an extra dividend, but if they don't they can always crack down on what one of these rabble rousers calls Communist thinkers—meaning, as he has made it clear, anybody who disagrees with him. And there he gets the support of the frightened people. We ought to be sorry for all people like that; they know so little, after 165 years of this republic. But they are dangerous; for they oppose the freedom of the mind which was one of the cardinal principles on which the United States was established; and on which, with rare lapses, it has been operated ever since.

We are in the worst of those lapses now. Thanks to a false picture of the world, a false picture of modern history, millions of Americans think they can fight Communism by imitating Communism. People like that, it has been truly said, are not merely un-American—they are anti-American. A lot of education is needed in this country—education in what America has been, and still ought to be. The education won't be easy; there are men who will fight it bitterly and viciously and slanderously. But—as I have said before—this republic was not established by cowards, nor will cowards preserve it.

This article is taken from Mr. Davis' remarks in accepting the 1953 Authors Guild Award.

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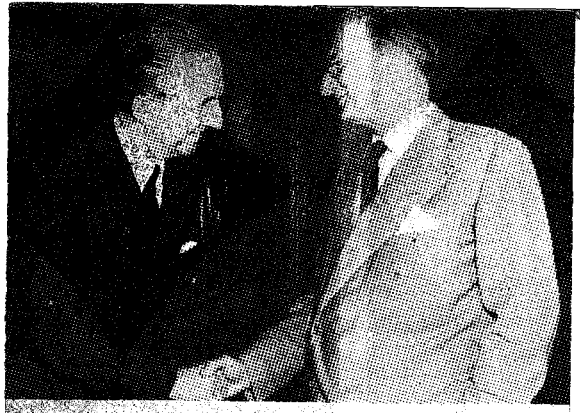

Behind Pella's Fall

Courting the Monarchists, the Italian Premier angered the democratic elements in his party.

by Frank Gorrell

THE RESIGNATION of Italy's Christian Democratic Premier, Giuseppe Pella—forced by his own party when he tried to please the Monarchists by appointing a right-wing Christian Democrat to be Minister of Agriculture—dramatizes a serious division within the political party most closely attached to US foreign policy.

Though Washington's hortatory pressure to get the Eisenhower-Dulles prescription for Western European defense filled "soon" has been exerted of late most strongly on Paris, the EDC is also bogged down in a parliamentary snarl in Rome. And the treaty's entrance in effect depends no less on the favorable action of the Chamber at Montecitorio than it does on that of the Assembly in the Palais Bourbon. But, though Giuseppe Pella was more enthusiastic about the Dulles warning than any other statesman at the NATO conference, he had not dared to present the treaty to either house of the Italian parliament.

If the Trieste crisis was deliberately created—as is widely believed in Italy—in order to help Pella get enough nationalist support to take the chance, it failed to achieve that purpose. The Italians have done nothing whatsoever about the EDC except talk. If the talk has seemed more friendly and the prospects more promising than in France, the counter-balancing fact is that there has been much less of it.

There are resemblances in Italy to the French situation in regard to the EDC. The chances of ratification depend upon the government's facing more serious domestic problems which are intimately and causally connected with foreign policy. As in France these problems arise less from the Cold War in general or even from the domestic struggle between Communism and anti-Communism, than they do from differences in purposes and principles between the various component elements of the anti-Communist front at home. Again as in France, the contest is between those who, on the one hand, believe that the time has come to reinforce the authority of the state against subversion; and those who, on the other hand, find the urgent need for some kind of social and economic New Deal that would give more men and women a greater and a better stake in their country's future before they are called upon to approve sacrifices for the defense of their country in the larger context of Europe, the Atlantic Alliance and the free world.

In Italy, of course, the need for social justice and economic enfranchisement is more glaring than in France. This fact emerges clearly from the Vigorelli report to the Chamber of Deputies drawn up under the supervision of a strongly anti-Communist member of the Democratic Socialist minority. For example, 11.7 percent of Italian families have an "extremely low" standard of living; 11.6 a low standard; 65.7 a modest standard. Some 870,000 families, 7.5 percent of the total, *never* have meat, sugar or wine; more than one million have insignificant quantities. Housing is "abnormal" for a quarter of the whole population; 92,000 families live in caves and shacks, 232,000 (two percent of the total) in cellars, garrets or warehouses; nearly 1.1 million (about 10 percent of the total) under unhealthy, crowded conditions.

In Italy the danger that "authority of the state" may go too far—toward the dictatorial extremes either of the Right or of the Left—is also much greater than in France. This is not merely a theoretical danger. The willingness of Pella to rely on the support of the reactionary elements among the monarchists, and the flirting of the Nenni Socialists with the neo-Fascists, make it quite real. It is significant in this connection that the conservative, anti-Communist *Stampa* of Turin, one of Italy's few important independent newspapers, took a bright view of the long ordeal of the French presidential election. With the Italian situation in mind, it wrote:

> The Versailles Congress did not show the decadence of France. On the contrary, it showed the extraordinary vitality of France and a devotion to democracy perhaps unequalled in the other countries of Europe. Once again, France proved that it remains the great country of freedom in which *coups d'etat* by political adventurers are impossible.

The point is that they are not impossible in Italy. It may seem merely silly to suspect the mild and moderate Pella of dictatorial notions. Nevertheless it is his steady evolution toward the Right that, by alienating dominant elements in his own Christian Democratic Party, caused his fall and may be taking the "soon" out of Italian ratification of the EDC. For *his* victory for the EDC would have been a defeat for democracy, so far as other Christian Democrats—including Alcide de Gasperi himself—can see.

On the other hand, the so-called "forces of order," including many friends of the EDC, are increasingly

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suspicious of the supposed softness toward disruptive and subversive elements, not only in the demo-Christian left-wing, led by Gronchi, but also in the de Gasperi High Command of the party. Three recent events showed the cleavage: a resolution of the party's executive committee hinting sympathy for civil-service employees in their national strike; a speech by Mario Scelba at Novara suggesting a return to the demo-Christian alliance with the three small democratic parties—Liberal, Republican and Democratic Socialist—to replace Pella's *de facto* arrangements with the Monarchists; and an article by de Gasperi in the weekly *Discussione,* referring to Pella's government as "friendly"—that is, outside the party.

Thus, whereas in France the split on the EDC is between the various parties of the anti-Communist governmental majority, it is in Italy *within* the dominant Christian Democratic Party itself. The same sort of pattern is also appearing within the political elements of the Roman Catholic Church. And this too is different from France. Although René Coty, a life-long *laique,* owed his election as President of the Fourth French Republic in part at least to the votes of members of the Radical Socialist Party opposed to government support for parochial (Catholic) schools, the role of the Church in French politics is relatively small. Italy on the other hand has tended in recent years to become a species of "clerical democracy"—obviously a contradiction in terms. And now the fate of the EDC—as well as of Italian foreign policy in general—has become linked with the outcome of a struggle not only between democrats and clericals, but also—and more so—between the New Dealers and the authoritarians within the Church itself, as a political force both in Italy and in the world.

IN THIS struggle, one of the outstanding leaders of the New Dealers is Cardinal Lercaro, Archbishop of Bologna. Considered one of the sources for the *Don Camillo* of Guareschi's novels and films, the Cardinal is the founder of "Fraternitas," an organization of monks known popularly as "God's parachute troopers" or the "flying monks." They travel quickly from town to town by automobile, motorcycle or motor-scooters, especially through the "Red area" of the province of Emilia, fighting the good fight against the Communists, in much the same spirit (if not manner) as the "worker priests" of the Mission de Paris and the Mission de France.

The Cardinal and other high prelates of like mind are wholeheartedly supported by the demo-Christian left-wing, and more especially by the growing faction of "Christian integralists" who favor profound social changes inspired by Catholic principles of human solidarity and by such encyclicals as the *Rerum Novarum* of Leo XIII. The big businessmen of the IRI, the huge industrial combine founded under Mussolini and retained by the Republic, are passionately opposed. They said that the support given by the Catholic labor unions of the CISL to the civil-service workers in their national strike was a "betrayal."

Nothing could better show the cracking from within of the Italian anti-Communist front than the fact that both the strike and the efforts to break it were supported by the supposedly ruling Christian Democratic Party. The same division is plain within the Church, in the Catholic Action organization, and in its bell-ringing and vote-getting instruments, the Civic Committees.

When the workers of the big Pignone factory in Florence occupied the premises in order to prevent the plant from being closed, Mayor La Pira, a Christian integralist (who defeated a Communist in the election of June 7), came to their assistance. Though the workers were breaking the law, he attended a special Mass celebrated for them at the factory; and he asked and got support from some Vatican organizations. It seemed that Monsignor Montini, one of the two Pro-Secretaries of State at the Vatican, was speaking at least indirectly for Pope Pius when he sent a message expressing the hope that "all those whose duty it is to protect the standards of living in so many humble homes will join in the effort to bring help to the sufferers."

But the Pope, in his Christmas allocution, said:

> It is necessary to react against the erroneous opinion that the just supremacy of authority and of the laws necessarily opens the way to tyranny. . . . In a democratic state, not less than in any other kind of well-ordered state, authority must be real and effective. Doubtless, democracy desires to fulfill the ideal of freedom, but the only ideal freedom is the kind which disassociates itself from any disorder or disturbance. . . . The materialist conception of life threatens to become the rule of conduct of businessmen of peace and the formula of their pacifist policy. They believe that the secret of the solution is to give all peoples material prosperity through the constant increase in the productivity of labor and the standard of living. . . .

The strong implication of the speech was that the clerical authoritarians were far better thought of at the Vatican than the clerical New Dealers. Since the Pope's speech was also a very strong plea for a united, Christian Europe, with the plainest overtones of support for the EDC, it is not surprising that the conflict within the Church and the Church-dominated Christian Democratic Party should be reflected in some difficulties with the ratification of the EDC.

General Eisenhower said in his Christmas message that, "As religious faith is the foundation of free government, so is prayer an indispensable part of that faith." In Italy nowadays it doesn't seem quite as simple as all that. The Jesuits are working hard for an alliance of the political forces of religious faith within the authoritarian far Right. The magazine *Vita e Pensiero,* published by the Catholic University of Milan, liked so little an article in the Jesuit magazine, *Civilta Cattolica,* that it advocated an alliance in parliament of the Christian Democrats with the fellow-traveling Nenni Socialists as a means of fulfilling the Christian prayer for social justice.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON: *The Superficial Aspect*

WE WHO PLAY no part in politics except to do the voting are, I am bound to admit, pretty dumb, but we are not quite as iron-skulled as some people in Washington seem to believe. In the first week of the New Year I read a review of the accomplishments of the Eisenhower Administration that was a very neat job of greasing, neat that is, up to the last item which was a statement that "of course" the general moral tone of Washington was vastly improved.

Forty-eight hours later I happened to be in Washington when the evening papers came out with screaming headlines announcing that $160,000 had been lifted from the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. In the old Truman days, when the moral tone was low, the biggest single theft from the government was, if memory serves, around $18,000; but now that the moral tone has been improved they make off with $160,000 at a crack.

Apparently the present definition of morality chimes with the saying current when I was a boy: steal a bottle of milk and go to jail; steal a railroad and go to the Senate. The lowest level of morality is that of the piker; Washington, rising in the scale under Republican auspices, may eventually stand in the rarified moral atmosphere of Boston, where they are capable of holding up an armored car and getting away with a million.

What irresistible impulse made that Republican observer drag in morals I do not know, but it does not indicate any accurate knowledge of the mentality of the ordinary voter. Dumb we are, but not so dumb that we are impressed by the high moral tone of any political party; dumb we are, but not so dumb that we can't detect the Pecksniffian note so obvious when any politician takes the holier-than-thou line.

Perhaps in this case it was a matter of momentum. We are pretty tolerant of idiocies emitted in the heat of a campaign, and we expect campaign orators to describe the opposition as a set of extremely low fellows. But when the election is over we expect them to revert to some approximation of common sense. Ordinarily they do so, for they become too busy trying to put over their own program to waste energy on claptrap. But this time the winning party came into office without a program, and the high command has spent the year framing one. This left the groundlings without any of the checks that usually restrain their exuberance and, devoid of ideas of their own, they have simply been fighting the campaign of '52 all over again, skidding and sliding under the impetus of their mud-slinging energy.

If Velde had had anything important to do he would hardly have issued a subpoena for a former President. If the party as a whole had had an important program of legislation to put through, they would never have allowed Reed to get so far out of line on the tax program, and still less would they have permitted McCarthy to upset applecarts all over the inhabited globe. If the rank and file had been driving in a known direction toward a visible goal, they would have been as skittish as politicians usually are of raising moral issues. For when you loudly attack the morals of the opposition, you inevitably invite inspection of your own, and when that happens something like the looting of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing is pretty sure to come to light.

Nobody in his senses—at least nobody among us ordinary voters—thinks that the Republican Party, as a party, was in cahoots with the thieves. But by the same token, nobody in his senses thinks that the Republican Party is composed entirely of angelic characters. The rogues are in a minority, but so they were in the Democratic Party; and the common, ordinary voter is imbued with a sombre conviction that the prevalence of scoundrels and knaves is just about the same, no matter what party is in power.

There are legitimate arguments to be advanced in behalf of the Administration and if they are skillfully urged by the insiders they may convince us outsiders. But the argument that the arrival of the Republicans in Washington was attended by an eruption of holiness surpassing the Great Awakening of 1734 is not legitimate; for no political argument is legitimate if, instead of drawing converts, it draws a horse-laugh.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

AMBASSADOR TO FOUR HUNDRED MILLION

by Michael Straight

WHEN CHESTER BOWLES was named Ambassador to India, wise men in Washington groaned. An advertising man, they argued, was the worst possible choice for a sensitive, anti-capitalist and critically important nation. Their concern at least was well-founded. Indians know that the United States is important to them.

AMBASSADOR'S REPORT, by Chester Bowles (Harper; $4).

Americans in turn have transferred to India the sense of responsibility and solidarity that they once felt for China. And yet, while there is a natural affinity between Americans and Chinese, Americans and Hindus seem to grate on each others nerves. Outwardly both are proud and inclined to dogmatism; inwardly each suffers from a sense of inferiority, is easily hurt, wants to be admired, and finds criticism hard to accept. The Indian intellectual is trained to suspect America's economic system and to scorn her culture. In turn Americans go to India as missionaries and return as cynics. Engineers despair of India's lack of education. Educators conclude that the gap that divides us is too wide to bridge. Social workers come home despairing at the size of India's social problems. Negroes sense that they are looked on with disdain. Liberals conclude that toughness is the best treatment after all.

Would Bowles follow the rule and so fail? He had no diplomatic training to give him perspective, and little experience in public life. Listening to the doubts of the experts, I remember an evening spent in Delhi in 1950 with a group of Indian friends. They had railed for hours against the efforts of the American Ambassador, a career diplomat, to induce in Nehru a hostile attitude to Soviet Communism. Finally, I asked them: what qualities must an American Ambassador have to be a success?

"Endless patience!" cried the first man. "Hard-headedness!" countered the second. "Support of your Congress and your businessmen," said the third with a wink. "A desire to go out into the villages," added the fourth. "Compassion and understanding," pleaded the fifth (echoing the advice of Dr. Aziz in *A Passage to India*). The last man, a close friend of Nehru's, shook his head: "He must be a man of intellect and learning; for above all he must be someone who can win Nehru's respect, and meet him on his own terms."

I nodded at each new quality and silently gave up; there was no such man! I was wrong, by a count of one. These qualities were combined in Chester Bowles, and they made his eighteen month term as Ambassador an outstanding success.

Ambassador's Report is a faithful account of this term, earnest and touching, youthful and wise. Bowles records how he left for India with naïve hopes. He describes his initial alarm at the poverty of India, his indignation at anti-American feeling, his discouragement when he was given Nehru's icy treatment at their first meeting. He tells how he first read the Post Reports of his foreign service missions:

> Every page dripped gloom and discouragement. They implied that there was practically no decent food available; . . . they talked anxiously of strange new diseases, blistering heat, cobras, sneak thieves and red tape. They . . . specified their distance from the main cities.

Bowles tackled these problems with daring. He established a clinic and a commissary; more important, he set an example that is surely unique in the history of diplomacy. He broke up the Ambassador's residence ("a big barn of a palace"), for apartments and lived in a flat. He sent his children to Delhi's public school "consisting of thirteen hundred students meeting in some twenty-five tattered tents."

Here it must be added, Bowles did not act alone. Many public servants will endure any hardships in India; their dedication dies when they refuse to expose their wives and children to the diseases that may cause not temporary discomfort but lifelong disability. Either these men depart with their families or, without them, they become morose.

The Bowles record of success was in contrast a family achievement, made by his wife, a former social worker, and the three children he took along. "The *best* Indians and *all* the Westerners," the Bowles family was instructed, "send their children away to Westernized schools in the mountains." Cynthia refused to go, retorting "we might just as well go to school in the United States!" So the Bowles children went with the Indian children, and at the end of the first day Sam came back with tears in his eyes. "I assumed he must have had a rough time of it," Bowles recalls. "On the contrary he had been overwhelmed by the warmth of his reception." In contrast, Sally found that she had an aged and hostile Communist for a teacher. She withstood it better than her father.

Bowles understood that he was Ambassador first to Jawaharlal Nehru, the "warm melancholy intellectual sophisticated and glamorous" man who alone shapes India's foreign policy. Getting to know Nehru, Bowles records, was a "fascinating and rewarding experience." First, Bowles became a careful student of Nehru's life and writings. Then, over many hours, they discussed every subject on earth except Nehru's one blind spot—Kashmir. Bowles observed many things about Nehru including his habit of cutting cigarettes in half before putting them in his holder—"a unique way of cutting down smoking." And once, in the fall of 1952, "when the Korean War was taking an ominous turn and when the Communist were accusing us of plotting to bring on a third world war," Bowles recalls "Nehru and I sat down and read together, word for word, two issues of the news summary section of the Sunday *New York Times*. . . . They were filled with commentary on American concern over how to end the war . . . and they did much to reassure him about our peaceful intentions."

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Bowles came finally to a deep appreciation of Nehru's complex personality. He plumbed the depths of his bitterness, and venerated his bravery and his capacity for self sacrifice. He lists as Nehru's greatest achievement his insistence on religious freedom for all India; he concludes that Nehru does not fully appreciate the menace of aggressive Communism.

Bowles himself learned a great deal about Communism in India. It started in a university in Calcutta where five hundred Communist students attempted to break up a huge meeting he addressed. He insisted that they be allowed into the meeting, and he delivered a passionate defense of America's struggle for political democracy, economic justice and world order. For the next three hours there followed a free-for-all in which he and the Communist leaders heckled and mimicked each other. "This experience was my first encounter anywhere with militant Communism," he confesses, and "the memory of the flashing eyes of those young Communists who seemed drained of human decency and packed with venom remains with me even now."

Bowles learned a good deal more about the Indian Communist Party as he traveled through India. He reports with relief that no Indian Mao has yet appeared. But he holds that if the Communist Parties of Asia transfer their primary alliance from Moscow to Peking, their prospects will improve. He warns that Mao is already organizing a shadow Comintern called the "Peace Liasion Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions."

Bowles saw himself essentially as Ambassador To The People—all the people. When he held a reception, on Washington's Birthday, he invited "every school teacher, college professor, welfare worker, trade union leader and businessman in the city of New Delhi, as well as the usual government officers." To each guest he gave a scroll reaffirming that America was the first country to revolt successfully against colonial rule. (A subordinate's anxious call to the British Embassy to determine if this might be offensive was met with a hearty laugh and the assurance that Britain had reconciled herself to the loss of the American Colonies.)

Beyond Delhi Bowles went everywhere asking and explaining. Wherever he went, the forced rate of progress, set by the competition of Communist China, impressed itself upon him, and he was haunted by the specter of Nationalist China whose collapse and surrender to Communist revolution presented such an obvious parallel. The depressing aspects of Indian Government are underplayed in *Ambassador's Report*; but many accounts indicate India's mood of underlying pessimism.

Gradually Bowles understood that land reform was the great need of all Asia—not as the solution, but as the vital first step toward sound land use. But he believed that compensation was necessary, and realized that it would bankrupt a country where land values are absurdly high. He watched with astonishment as Vinoba Bhave marched on foot through India, persuading landlords to give away one-fifth of their land. Yet the experts he brought to India warned him that land reform was progressing far too slowly and that rural India stood in 1951 where rural China stood in 1946. Thoroughly alarmed, Bowles saw little hope until he visited Etawah, the region where the integrated, multipurpose approach of community development, conceived by Jimmy Yen in China, is carried out in India under Albert Mayer and Horace Holmes with Ford Foundation support. In a fever of excitement Bowles worked on a plan to extend the Etawah program for self-help for all India, backed with Point Four funds. The Congress and Nehru backed him; the Communists moved in, in full force to break up this dangerous scheme. In turn the villagers refused to be deterred. But it was not easy. Bowles records the violent reception given more than one student worker by villagers who cried: "We have had only two kinds of visitors. Those who collect taxes and those who come to beat us up! Which are you?"

Confronted by ignorance, misunderstanding, and a tremendous volume of Communist propaganda, Bowles moved on into the information field with a program based on simplicity, candor, and concentration on American events that related directly to India's own problems and struggles. He extended the USIS libraries, attempted (unsuccessfully) to base the Voice of America in Ceylon where it could be heard, and distributed books and built the US news magazine to 500,000 subscriptions. Above all he went everywhere himself, talking about Andrew Jackson's fight against the Bank, Lincoln's efforts to free the slaves, and Teddy Roosevelt's battles against the trusts. He talked about the tragedies that resulted from America's failure fully to back the League of Nations, leaving it to his audiences to draw the needed inference. And when the audiences wearied of talk on momentous issues, he told them about Connecticut; how the kids took their seats in school in alphabetical order regardless of wealth, how the heads of families worked in factories in the winter and fished for shad in the spring, how in his town of Essex "there were no very rich people and no very poor."

So, in a few months, an Essex businessman became a leading participant in India's battle for democracy. Then his term ended with the Republican victory. So Bowles departed in all the integrity of his uniqueness. India had sapped the vitality of other men; Bowles drew new vitality from India. Others went to India prescribing Democracy, and came away speaking of Ataturk. Bowles went supposing that India needed an Ataturk and left declaring that India would learn democracy by practicing democracy, full-blown.

It was all very exciting and highly irregular. When the Bowles family departed with their friendly ways, the Embassy was turned back to a career diplomat. By now no doubt the Westerners in Delhi have settled back in the routine of diplomatic dullness with a long-drawn sigh of relief. Nor are they altogether wrong. In normal times and in nations that have gained stability no doubt Ambassadors should deal simply with the governments to which they are accredited, providing intelligence, and receiving intelligence in return. But these are not times of crisis, and India needed Bowles in 1951, as in her hour, England needed John Winant.

In a sad postscript, Bowles notes that the circulation of the news magazine he built has been reduced fifty percent, the village motion picture program has been stopped, the university program slashed, the staff cut in half. Far worse, the good will gained by Bowles has been largely sacrificed by the new, tough policy of providing military aid to Pakistan.

Yet, within India, the heart of the Bowles program lives. Senator Knowland, travelling through India this summer found the village projects thriving and praised them as the basis of democracy. By 1956 (the date Bowles sets as critical), 100 million people, or

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thirty-five percent of village India, will be participating in the village projects.

Bowles defied every category that critics tried to fit him. Finally, the Communists decided he was a salesman, selling Capitalist America. By that logic Bowles should have fallen silent when his product passed to other hands. Instead Bowles is talking about India to every audience that will listen. For him, India is no passing responsibility, taken on under Truman and shrugged off under Eisenhower. India can rely on Bowles, and America will rely heavily and securely on him, in the affirmation of her liberal spirit.

THAT EUROPE MAY LIVE . . .

by Waldo Frank

IT WAS about the year 1100 that an un-named poet, Norman or *franc de France,* wrote the *Chanson de Roland.* That this came to my mind as I put down Albert Camus' *L'homme revolté* is a clue to the book, and as good a way as any to begin these comments. The old *Chanson de geste* was a fighting act in Europe's war for cultural integration. "Great were their armies, daring their troop. Every battle body was engaged, and marvelously struck the pagans." In Camus' book, also, a war is waged and a warrior speaks for Europe. In Charlemagne's and Roland's day, Europe was first rising from the dust toward the great Gothic Vault. In Camus' day, it seems near dust again, after nine centuries of splendor. As with Roland, one feels the fervor of the Resistance in which Camus took part. But the "new pagans" are subtler, interior, creations of Europe itself—and more demonic. The old poem, tale of Europe's youth, is verse strong as the stones of contemporary Chartres, warm as the wood sculptures of Cluny. Now, with the great Arch of Europe broken, Camus' story is largely analysis of that heroic disintegration.

THE REBEL, *An essay on man in revolt,* by Albert Camus; translated by Anthony Bower with an introduction by Sir Herbert Read (Knopf; $4).

The tale has been told often, of course, each diagnostician selecting for the purpose the material he prefers. Camus' record comes principally from European literature, German philosophy, and the exteriorization of their values in politics from England to Russia. But the advantage of his method over the more pretentious, stylish and less significant panoramas of a man like Toynbee is that he deeply and closely feels his subjects, so that they become characters of a drama. It is of modern Europe's shift from the no-longer tenable synthesis of the "Christian Republic" to nihilism; from nihilism's seemingly innocent beginnings, during the Renaissance, to the final phases: the concentration camps of Fascist and Marxist—and the cement-paved wastelands of "free" democracies defended by the H-bomb.

But although Camus writes of insanity and spiritual death, his pages from first to last resound with a vitality that seems to contradict his subject. The prose has weight and wings, like the verse of the *Chanson de Roland,* a stripped music like Pascal's, yet a deliberate exclusiveness that recalls the language of mathematics. If one could filter the ideas from one's impression of the book, retaining only temperature and tone, one might decide that it bespoke a tradition old as France; and one might judge since the book is alive that France must still be living; since France has always been a capital of Europe, that Europe is moving again toward parturition.

The flashy fame, at once after the war, of Sartre's brand of Existentialism certainly encouraged no such hope. From the Marquis de Sade's invention of the sexual orgy as a cold machine for breaking up the social structure to the spicy excrement of his latest disciple, Jean Genêt; from the successive egoisms, dissolvent but still sane, of Musset, Vigny, Nerval, Lautréamont, Rimbaud, Barrès, Gide, to Dada; from the *surréalistes* of the 1920s to Sartre's academization of the soul's desperate and isolate freedom, the logical line of descent has been complete. The norm of the French people's attitude toward life has, for a hundred years, been largely established by its *lycée* professors; and here was the king of them all, Professor Sartre, registering France's impotence, justifying it, glorifying it, in the proper pedantic terms of a metaphysic that could be modulated at will into *grand guignol* melodrama. Sartre's "man," a neo-savage who has lost his tribe, mouthing his final fission in the erudite *fumisteries* of Heidegger, seemed France's last word—without sequel, except perhaps to beatify its pessimism by an "optimistic" support of Russian politics as the best means of wiping out the last vestiges of the Europe France had always stood for. Such were the literary auspices of Camus, as he laid down his arms of a *maquis.* And Camus could not write so concretely of Nietzsche, of the Russian nihilists, of Sade and of Rousseau's deification of the common man, were he not immersed in the tragedy that its "sons of Cain" have brought to Europe.

But on the other hand, Camus proves that a tradition is still alive in him, capable (unlike that of the traditionalists) of creation. It gives him detachment from the decomposition of Europe; it gives to his own rebellion a positive dimension. His book, an essay, has the form, pace and catharsis, of a tragedy by Racine, in which the characters are the dominant intellectual and political trends of post-Racinian Europe. Both Racine and Pascal, of course, remained within the Church. But their Jansenism announces the de-Christianization of France and of Europe. This Europe is Camus' inheritance. It is not accidental that he recalls Pascal and Racine, when he discovers in his own terms that man's *focus* cannot be history; that man's *fulcrum* cannot be science.

But Camus begins by a reminiscence of Descartes, founding theorist of modern Europe. The famous syllogism: *cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am) was intellectualistic, idealistic, individualistic. Camus amends it into a different axiom: *je me révolte, donc nous sommes* (I rebel, therefore *we* are), which at once gives a social and positive value to the "I" reacting against the injustice and "absurdity" of modern life. This "we," linked radically with an intimate, personal sense, is the antithesis of the "I" of nihilist, romanticist and existentialist of the Sartre brand; and is the antithesis also of the person-less collectivism of Marx. Camus makes it the basis for political action.

As Herbert Read points out in the foreword, the book is a philosophy of politics. But the substance of this politics remains the human plasm which American political philosophers ignore

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as contemptuously as the Marxists. Camus traces a line from Descartes through Rousseau to nihilism; and to nihilism's "defensive" organization in either the Police State or the corrupting hypocrisies of our capitalist system. He shows how the rationalist revolt against God led to the revolt against God's agent, the king; how the people became king and then God; how salvation by grace yielded to salvation by (and in) history—always of course tomorrow; how reason became deified, and then un-reason: with both needing the police to "prove their theorem." No mindful American will dare be confident that our country is outside this lethal process drawn by Camus—nor can be, until we become satisfied that certain latent values in American life, which alone could save us, are growing and not fading.

The book proceeds by a series of vignettes. We meet Sade, that icy pornographer, until recently the darling of the psychopathologists, who now takes his due place as major prophet of a world where Justice (not, alas! only in the "People's democracies") turns sadist. We see Hegel on his German podium, orchestrating mind into State, abolishing the person and preparing mass murder, all in the name of Spirit —and Nietzsche, pure saint of the murderers. We watch the devils fill the vacuum left by the "death of God." Not even Reinhold Niebuhr has mapped with more precision the confluence of romanticism, economism, historicism, messianism, predestinationism, into the Marxist shambles. Yet the survey is not grim. Camus is just to the heroic victims of their own false premises, such as Marx, Bakunin, the Russian "rejectors of salvation." Deeply moving, for instance, is his portrait of the Russian terrorists who insisted that their political assassinations must be balanced by their own deaths.

It was not to be expected that with his long analytical threshold, Camus would have much space left for a positive program. Camus is still young; French books must be concise and brief. But the few words of Camus toward the close about revolutionary syndicalism are a portent. Inherent in the corruption of Marxism into Caesarian socialism was its development, not from the experience of men and of men working together, but from immense abstractions. Marx could not begin with the worker; he did not know him. His psychology was based on Rousseau the theorist, not on Rousseau the confessor. The magnificent Marxist abstractions grew monstrous, feeding on the people, finally swallowing the people. And in this debacle the tragic spectacle of our time, the trade union—any *functioning group* —as the potential revolutionary unit, has been neglected.

This was Daniel de Leon's great idea, acknowledged by Lenin, adopted as his "soviet" and of course grimly caricatured in Stalin's "Soviet" Union. De Leon is forgotten; Camus does not name him. But I predict that when the integral radicalism is born, for which the world hungers, it will rise from premises in part related to the Syndicalism Camus appeals to. Of course, the group can be creative only through the transformed persons who comprise it. Syndicalism, as the world knows it, is full of the same false premises about man that have corrupted "classical" socialism. These are problems neither De Leon nor Lenin envisaged; and Camus' book does not touch them.

I regret that it is my duty to report unfavorably on this Anglo-American edition of *L'homme révolté*. The translator has worked earnestly but not very well at what must have been a trying task; for Camus' prose is elliptical, lapidary, highly composite of concept and image. It is in the *poematic* tradition, old as Epicurus and Lucretius, which was never strong in English. The frequent transliteration of the French into the English word of the same Latin root makes for heavy reading. Too often the translator gives up, and clumsily paraphrases a swift statement. And there are even times, when the French is literally misunderstood.

Even worse is the cutting which Camus' compact work hardly deserved. Entire passages are omitted; in other parts, single paragraphs are missing or curtailed, maiming the balanced flight of the whole chapter. One asks why? For example, Max Stirner is not so well remembered as Nietzsche: all the more reason for hearing what Camus says of him. And, surely, the reader intelligent enough to value this book, in which the meanings of poetry and politics are fused, will resent being deprived of a number of Camus' careful instances of the poets. Since the American edition is from British sheets, the English publisher must take the blame. Camus' book is one of the extremely few that express the contemporary hour (cluttered with ephemeral report) yet profoundly transcend it. Although the present English version is imperfect, it is a good deal better than nothing.

THE OLDEST RELIGION

The Religion of the Hindus is undoubtedly the most important book about Hinduism ever to appear in English, or for that matter any foreign language that I know. It is concise, compact, and comprehensive, but perhaps its chief distinction for the uninitiated reader is the fact that Indians themselves are writing about their religion, instead of the more usual practice of foreigners describing quaint and curious customs of the alien. The editor, Kenneth W. Morgan, a Quaker, the Chaplain at Colgate University, and simultaneously an instructor of Philosophy and Religion there, is to be congratulated on his brilliant choice of seven of the finest minds

THE RELIGION OF THE HINDUS, edited by K. W. Morgan (Ronald; $5).

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of India—all professors, all scholars, all profound Hindus—and for turning to them for their analyses of virtually every aspect of their faith and beliefs. With flawless English and in perfect, Western-style logical progression (two things unfortunately all too rare to encounter when East and West are meeting), the reader is led gently and interestingly through the history of Hinduism, the Hindu concept of God, as well as of the natural world, of man's place in Hinduism, of religious practices, thought, and finally, in the second half of the book, actual selections from Hindu sacred writings, beautifully translated and presented by the head of the Sanskrit Department of the University of Madras, Dr. V. Raghavan.

The book begins plangently: "Hinduism, the oldest of the world's living religions, has now about three hundred million followers. . . . The religion has no founder. It is ethnic, not creedal, with a history contemporaneous with the history of the races. . . . It is closely connected with the mythology, the folklore, and the customs and manners of Hindus." The breadth of this tone is sustained as we are introduced historically to the Vedic Period which began about 2,000 B.C., and carried down through the ages to modern, twentieth century men—Sri Aurobindo Ghose, the most famous of Indian *yogis* in modern times and with huge European followings; Tagore, the religious and mystic poet; to Mahatma Gandhi, about whom *The Religion of the Hindus* says, "There is no doubt that he is the greatest man that India has produced since Buddha."

Hindus gods, one by one, are named and described with their qualities, attributes, and even powers. Places of pilgrimages are enumerated, and even the holy marriage vows are translated. Reincarnation, the four stages of life, and the caste system are detailed. Caste is treated with complete honesty and untouchiness. At the end of this particular section—which lists the good and evils of caste—the writer says:

> At any rate, it is most reassuring to find it laid down in the constitution of the Indian Republic, which indeed represents the collective will of the people of India, that "the State shall not discriminate against any citizen on the grounds only of religion, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them" and that "Untouchability is abolished and its practices in any form is forbidden."

At the end of the book, a number of beautiful and moving Hindu prayers are translated. The last one is used at the end of all public recitals of the Hindu epic poems. Such performances in India are considered in much the same spirit as we in America approach serious drama, concerts, or museums. This famous and living prayer reads in part, "May there be welfare for the people; may rulers follow the righteous path and protect the world . . . may the entire universe be happy."

FAUBION BOWERS

FOUL OR BEFOULED

To ONE already familiar with the essays that Harry T. Moore has so usefully brought together in this volume, the most immediately impressive matter is contained in Mr. Moore's introduction, which is concerned not so much with the essays themselves as with the occasions of the essays: the long series of incidents in which Lawrence's work—fiction, poetry, paintings, all of it—was scrutinized by the small, red, mindless eye of what he called the "censor-moron." This concentrated catalogue of these events, isolated from the whole texture of Lawrence's life, will astonish and instruct even those readers who know his life. The astonishment will arise from the relentlessness with which Lawrence was attacked; the instruction, and a new degree of respect, from the moderation of tone, the candor and wisdom, the humor, almost the insouciance with which Lawrence responded. It is like a spectacle of a man walking casually away from a pack of mad dogs, unimpaired by their poison, uninfected.

SEX, LITERATURE, AND CENSORSHIP, by D. H. Lawrence; edited by Harry T. Moore (Twayne; $3).

About half of the eight essays here collected are direct replies to the pack; all are at least indirect replies, and all reveal the attitude of mind and the particular attitudes that set it yelping. The general attitude is contained in the resolution to say yes to life, to say no only to the negations of life. To say yes to life means nothing more than to value growth. And so in the first essay, "Love," we come upon the sentence,

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"Love is not a goal; it is only a traveling," and in the essay "The State of Funk," the first question is, "What is the matter with the English, that they are so scared of everything?" The "Introduction to *Pansies*" is a plea for the lifting of the merely restrictive taboo:

I call it a waste of sane human consciousness. But it is very dangerous, dangerous to the individual and utterly dangerous to society as a whole. Nothing is so fearful in a mass-civilization like ours as a mass-insanity. . . . The result of taboo is insanity, especially mob-insanity, mass-insanity, is the fearful danger that threatens our civilization.

Such generalizations are made concrete in a number of these essays, and nowhere more entertainingly than in "Cocksure Women and Hensure Men," perhaps the most amusing piece Lawrence ever wrote, but like everything else, founded on the plea for growth. "Having lived her life with such utmost strenuousness and cocksureness," he concludes it, "she has missed her life altogether. Nothingness!"

The two most considerable essays are "Pornography and Obscenity" and "Apropos of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*." The second has not previously been published in the United States and should appear again as a preface to the novel itself if we ever see the day when that novel will be legally, not piratically published here in the form in which it was written. Both essays should be read by anyone who at any time has had the impulse to censorship: "You, *hypocrite lecteur,*" for we have all had it. These essays demonstrate the identity of that which is truly foul in literature and the befouling attitude in life that finds the healthy so.

We have never needed these essays more than now. Lawrence was not primarily concerned with political censorship, but attitudes toward politics and attitudes toward sex are by no means discrete. The relationship is profoundly implied in the quotation with which Mr. Moore begins his introduction. It is from a letter of Lawrence's, written in 1928 to Morris Ernst in acknowledgment of his book, *To the Pure*. It reads:

Our civilization cannot afford to let the censor-moron loose. The censor-moron does not really hate anything but the living and growing human consciousness. It is our developing and extending consciousness that he threatens—and our consciousness in its newest, most sensitive activity, its vital growth. To arrest or circumscribe the vital consciousness is to produce morons, and nothing but a moron would do it.

MARK SCHORER

THE RECORD REVIEW

TOSCANINI'S RECORDING of Verdi's *Otello* (RCA-Victor) is as perfect in its way as a recording can well be. Toscanini is in a position to choose a nearly perfect cast and to rehearse it with much greater thoroughness than the operatic theatre usually allows. In this instance he does just that, and the result is a better performance than we can hope to hear in an opera house. The cast is consistently good, and the NBC Symphony Orchestra is, as always, wonderful.

For years, normally phlegmatic critics have vied with each other in the extravagance with which they praise this opera. A person suspicious of superlatives may content himself with the observation that *Otello* is music for the listener who has difficulty tolerating most of Verdi's work; it is surely one of the few nineteenth century operas which compares favorably with the Wagnerian works in the grandness of its conception and, like *Boris Godunov,* it has a melodic concreteness that gives it a much sharper delineation than the Wagner pieces. The dramatic shape is intensified by the continuity of the musical structure, built, as it is, without set pieces or stereotyped recitative.

Unfortunately, the work always forces one to think of Shakespeare, and in point of intensity, the operatic version is weaker than the play. And in spite of its unorthodox design, the opera is still a piece in the nineteenth century Italian tradition. Correct performance of this music requires a good bit of yawping and squawking, without which it would be lifeless, but with which at least part of it is unavoidably ugly. In the Toscanini recording, the passionate cries of the principals are exploited to the hilt, and should be very gratifying to anyone who is moved by such goings on.

Victor has recently re-issued a number of old, low-fidelity recordings which are of interest primarily because of the excellence of performance. One of these is Schnabel's superb reading of Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto, and another is Furtwangler's monumental *Eroica.*

Aaron Copland's *Appalachian Spring* and *El Salon Mexico* have been re-issued together in the long unavailable Koussevitsky readings, and the same two works have been released in a reading by Fritz Litschauer, with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra (Vanguard). Both performances are expert, but the results are quite different. Koussevitsky exploits the indecorous brilliance, the roughness of the music. Litschauer softens it as much as he possibly can. His *Appalachian Spring* sounds good, but very sweet indeed. I had no idea that it was such a vulnerable score.

Webster Aitken has recorded all of Copland's more ambitious piano work on a single disc (Walden). Again, the pianist has stressed the elegance rather than the harshness of the music. The tender approach is fine for the early Passacaglia, but it is something less than fair to the Piano Variations, which represent the most angular and uncompromising Copland of the thirties. The Piano Sonata, however, seems both more varied and more eloquent than usual in Aitken's reading. This Sonata is surely one of the most difficult works in the piano literature to project; the last movement particularly, slow enough to seem almost static, makes terrible demands on the performer's imagination. Mr. Aitken's approach is singularly successful.

ROBERT EVETT

Notes on Critics

WALDO FRANK's latest book is a novel, *Not Heaven.* FAUBION BOWERS is the author of *The Dance in India.* MARK SCHORER is a member of the English faculty of the University of California.

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From Our Readers

► Subversion in the Nursery

Shame on the *New Republic* for turning back only 350 years in its search for subversion in our nurseries! No doubt you are trying to shield the proletarian agitator Aesop. Stripped of Aesopian language (identified by Congressional Committees as Communist double-talk), Aesop's fable of the fox and the crow appears in its true light as stark Communist propaganda:

> A crow was perched in a tree holding in his mouth a piece of cheese. A fox came along and said, "You look like a Russian to me." The crow continued to munch the cheese. "You are a dirty Fifth Amendment Communist," barked the fox. "That is a lie," the crow cawed, and the cheese fell to the ground. The fox not only devoured the cheese but induced the Justice Department to indict the crow for perjury and the crow had to hire a lawyer and spend a lot of money. Moral: If you're foxy enough, you can eat your cheese and have your crow, too.

Washington, D. C. SAMUEL BLACKMAN

Following your editorial, "Mother Goose Exposed," (*NR*, Dec. 28) readers will be happy to learn that Mrs. Hubbard came back the other day and reported that things were not as bad as in the 17th Century when her cupboard was left entirely bare by the authorities; her sworn statement follows:

> Old Mother Hubbard
> Went to the cupboard
> To get her poor dog a bone
> When she got there
> The cupboard was bare
> Except for a microphone.

Boston, Mass. LYCIDAS

► A Sound Economy?

Your recent comparison of the impending income-tax reduction with the concurrent increase in social-security rates, to the detriment of the pocketbook of the average citizen, seems political aggressiveness misdirected and ill-advised.

Were the income available through the social-security act sought from any other source, the top deduction per employee ($108 per year—three percent of $3,600) would procure the $85 income per month at the end of about 65 years of deposits. The employer's payment of a similar source, the top deduction per employee normal working years before age 65. Thus the act is arithmetically provable only for employees now in their early 20s. For those now in their 40s and 50s, to whom the prospect of retirement income can take on a lively significance, the income is justifiable only on the basis of a direct subsidy. The over-all result is one of the social benefits for which liberals have striven.

To anyone who has been familiar with the average plight of the aged, penniless dependence on handouts of grudging relatives, the picture of an income of $85 monthly is one of rank prosperity. The injection of reality into this picture was one of the crowning achievements of the New Deal.

I believe the liberal sheets would print savage attacks on any administration which might seek a reduction in social-security benefits. Yet by some reverse logic they are apparently trying to embitter the pill of partial payment for the benefit.

It is suggested that a sounder approach would indicate that the reduction in taxes will render the necessary upward adjustment in social-security payments less onerous. No one is yet paying fully for this benefit. When all are doing so the act will have achieved a sound basis in our economy.

Brooklyn, N. Y. L. D. FEELEY

Our intention was not to criticize the increase in social-security rates, but to emphasize the meaninglessness to low- and middle-income families of the proposed decrease in income taxes. Broader income-tax exemptions, on the other hand, would result in real savings despite the higher social-security rates.—THE EDITORS

► The Economics of Survival

Some time ago in a debate with Sidney Hook on the barring of Communist teachers from the campus, Professor Louis Hacker made the flamboyant but pregnant prophecy that those liberals who in their hatred of Communism or desire for respectability were willing to tamper with the traditional safeguards of academic freedom and other freedoms, were "like Savonarola kindling the flames which would eventually consume them." Surely this prophecy appears less flamboyant in the light of recent events.

Yet on another front liberals are performing a similar suicidal function, in this case attempting to make political capital through decrying efforts to reduce armaments expenditures. The article ("The Economics of Survival," *NR*, Nov. 2) by Mr. Keyserling is a particularly vulgar example, perhaps, by which to illustrate this point.

At no point did Mr. Keyserling move away from his trivial national income accounting and consider the more profound basis of the objection of many conservatives to the garrison state implications of an armaments race and its effect on valued institutions and freedoms. It is indeed a sad commentary on bankruptcy of American liberalism today, that it is the conservatives alone who seem willing to concern themselves publicly with the broader implications of an armaments race of indefinite duration. Isn't the liberal also supposed to concern himself with what happens to liberal values in the garrison state?

Berkeley, California DAVID FELIX

► End as a Man

Eric Bentley's statement that Calder Willingham is for the Army and against the individual in his "End as a Man" (*NR*, Jan. 4) and that he exhibits a craven conformism, is absolutely amazing. If this book is *not* an indictment of the Army or at any rate of the type of academy portrayed in it, then Zola's *Nana* was the personification of chaste, unselfish sociocentric virtue. Against what is all the anger and savage sentiment worked up by Mr. Willingham directed, pray, if not the thing represented by the General? Has the play been altered? What does Mr. Willingham have to say here? What does *any* reader of the book say here? What gives?

Ridgefield, N. J. W. M. MONAGHAN

Bandwagon

At a news conference at which he said he hoped the Communists-in-government issue would be settled by election time, the President explained he meant he hoped that by then there would be no Communists left in government.

Since he didn't say specifically that he didn't object to Communists in government under Truman as an issue, it could be interpreted as meaning only that he didn't want Communists in government under Eisenhower as an issue. Then there's no conflict with Brownell and Hall. – *Grit, Williamsport, Pa., Dec. 10, 1953.*

There is something refreshingly new in the approach of President Eisenhower to tough political problems. The most recent example of that is the program of generalities that came out after the recent White House conference of Republican leaders. – *From column by Raymond Moley, Kansas City Times, December 26, 1953.*

A state subcommittee today heard charges that fluoridation of drinking water was a devious Communist plot to brainwash the American public.

Mrs. Hugo Frazen, executive secretary of the Citizen's Committee against Fluoridation, said the process "weakens the brain and makes citizens vulnerable to being taken over by Communists." – *New York Times, December 19, 1953.*

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